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Republican Policy Committee

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"100,000 Cops" Is a "Completely Bogus Claim"

When Professor John J. Dilulio, Jr., a leading authority on criminal justice, was asked about the claim that Clinton's 1994 crime bill will fund 100,000 police officers, he said the claim was "completely bogus" and that such "rhetoric ought to cease at once." An edited portion of Prof. Dilulio's statement appears below:

The policing provisions of the 1994 crime bill will not put 100,000 officers "on the street," and they most certainly will not put them where added police manpower actually might do some good, that is in the high-crime, inner-city neighborhoods.

In 1990, the average operating expenditures of local police departments per sworn officer ranged from \$51,600 in smaller cities to nearly \$63,000 for large cities. But, a "cop" is not just a salary, a badge, and a blue suit. In fiscal terms, a cop is also capital expenditures (e.g., equipment purchases, construction costs) and legal expenses and long-term pension liabilities and more. The \$50,000-per-sworn-officer-estimate does not include any of these very real "miscellaneous" costs, which taxpayers still must pay. Keep in mind that in the real world it costs about \$500,000 per year to maintain a single, two-person patrol car.

The 1994 federal crime bill contains \$8.8 billion over six years for police. It cannot, therefore, fully fund "100,000 cops" — it won't even come close. Let's be super-kind to the "100,000 cops" political posturing and calculate that an officer costs just \$50,000 per year. 100,000 cops times \$50,000 equals \$5 billion. The crime bill authorized \$8.8 billion. In other words, with \$8.8 billion you could fully fund "100,000 cops" for 1.76 years if you don't count buildings, cars, guns, pensions, legal assistance, etc. When these other real costs are counted, we are down below a year.

On February 8 of this year the Department of Justice announced that grants for 16,000 or 17,000 new police officers had already been authorized under the 1994 crime bill. Earlier that same day, President Clinton said, "Today, we are here to award grants to over 7,000 new police officers in over 6,600 small cities."

Unfortunately, like other defenders of the "100,000 cops" provisions of the crime bill, President Clinton has never articulated how the "national interest" is served by lightly seeding 7,000 police officers across more than 6,600 small towns — places that by every available measure already have both more police per capita and much less serious crime than America's drug- and crime-ravaged inner cities.

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The undeniable truth is that there is no math, save political math, that puts "100,000 cops on the streets" for \$8.8 billion. Any jurisdiction that gets a community policing grant must be prepared to shoulder almost the entire financial burden for new hires, rehires, and associated programs and equipment purchases. The "100,000 cops" provisions of the 1994 crime bill also impose high costs for administration and monitoring.

In sum, I am totally unimpressed and gravely disappointed by the way in which such grants have been hustled out by the Justice Department in order to get ahead of the political opposition and support the completely bogus claim that the bill is well on the way to putting "100,000 cops on the streets," least of all on the streets where they are most sorely needed.

Additionally, even if there were 100,000 cops hired, only about one-tenth that number would be on street at any particular time. In his recent book, *Police for the Future*, Professor David Bayley summarized what we know about street enforcement ratios:

Where X is the total number of sworn officers in a typical department, at the outside 70 percent of X will do patrol functions, and that 70 percent must be divided into four shifts, three "on" and one "off". Therefore, we are already down to 17.5 percent of X. Of course, all 17.5 percent do not work every day of the year — there are sick leaves, training time, vacations, and so on. It takes at least 1.5 officers to maintain one officer on a shift year round. Thus, patrol shift strength is not 17.5 percent of X but more like 11.7 percent of X. Moreover, even if 11.7 percent of the force is assigned to patrol, not all of them will work on the street. Some will work in staff and supervisory roles, and there is time taken up with administrative chores at police buildings, courts, etc. Therefore, the fraction of police officers who are a visible presence on the streets at any given moment is definitely smaller than 11.7 percent of X. Professor Bayley concluded, and every criminologist agrees, that a 10-to-1 rule is generous; that is, for every 100 officers on the force, not more than 10 will be deployed on the street at any given moment.

In sum, if one is truly interested in truth-in-legislating, then no further efforts should be made from any quarter to fool the American people into believing that the 1994 federal crime bill would put "100,000 cops on the streets." Given the aforementioned 10-for-1 rule, the hard fiscal realities of funding police, the transparent distributive politics of the grant process, and more, the "100,000 cops" rhetoric ought to cease at once.

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[NOTE: Information in this paper was taken from Prof. DiIulio's letter of March 13, 1995 to Hon. Orrin G. Hatch, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. The original letter was edited by RPC for this paper.]